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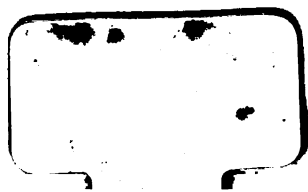
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EMIGRATION
FOR THE MILLION;
BEING
THE DIGEST OF A PLAN
FOR
MORE EQUALLY LOCATING
THE
POPULATION OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND
THROUGHOUT
THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY GERSHOM.

"I am a man, and nothing which affects a man can be indifferent to me."



LONDON:

PELHAM RICHARDSON, 23, CORNHILL;
J. OLLIVIER, 59, Pall-Mall; STRANGE, 21, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
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1849.

[*Price Sixpence.*]

100.22 r. 37.

49. 1986 (22)



FELHAM RICHARDSON, PRINTER, 23, CORNHILL.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO

THE GREAT PHILANTHROPIST OF THE AGE,

THE RT. HON. LORD ASHLEY, M.P.

ETC. ETC. ETC.

Whose splendid talents, active zeal, and untiring efforts to relieve the destitution of the lower orders, command the high respect and sincere gratitude of his Lordship's

Very obedient servant,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Gresham". Below the main signature, the date "Feb 22" is written in a smaller, similar script. The signature is written in dark ink on a white background.

Lincoln's Inn Fields,

February, 1849.

EMIGRATION FOR THE MILLION,

ETC. ETC.

THAT population is a blessing to a country under a paternal Government, wisely administered and by them duly regulated, is a most palpable truism. Shall this great source of wealth be neglected, despised, or left uncared for, which so abounds in the United Kingdom? This would be to mock the Author of every blessing and the source of all existence, who never created human beings to encumber the earth. It would also impeach his goodness, libel his omniscience, and be to look upon him as the Author of "evil" instead of "all good." Nay, it would be even to doubt his revealed word, wherein he gives the decree, "Increase and multiply and replenish the earth," and this would be blasphemy itself.

When in the course of successive ages the great family of mankind become too congregated together, (some portions of the earth being more prolific than others,) this may be deemed a beacon—an invitation—nay, a command—to the Government of such a country to facilitate their spreading them over those vast regions which yet remain to be peopled. "The whole earth is full of the goodness of the Lord," which is neither confined to clime nor latitude; there is an abundance for all who will seek it at his hands, and inexhaustible are his bounties on those British soils which only wait the gathering them. The Anglo-Saxons are the only race propagating and colonizing the remotest parts of the earth: it is a glorious destiny to plant the institutions and disseminate the language of our forefathers; and the mission of spreading the people throughout the world seems to be particularly committed to the British Government. It is like a voice from heaven, which must and will be

heard, or, if contemned, this intended blessing of a numerous people may be converted into a fearful curse. Famine and pestilence have been already thinning them out in Ireland; let us heed these awful warnings, which speak trumpet-tongued, to provide a comprehensive and efficient scheme of emigration for the surplus population.

How often has my heart been riven to see what I have witnessed in our crowded streets—that spawn of human beings bearing God's image, endowed with the vital spark of immortality, more wretched, more pitiable and degraded than the beasts of the stall. The latter are cared for as *property*—they are housed, fed, and cleansed, and well may the poor outcasts envy the warm stable and the coarse food sometimes given to *brutes*. And should such things be in a country boasting of its power, its civilization, and its wealth? Ranked amongst all nations as the first of the earth, whose religion and philanthropy belt the globe to draw within their influence even the aborigines of the forest, and yet amidst the myriads of our population may be sometimes witnessed such scenes as would make “e'en angels weep.” I have seen the dogs of the “Osmanlies” more cared for than some of our starving people.

I have been labouring for some time with an anxious desire to see this dense mass relieved, and to devise, if possible, a plan for transplanting them more equally throughout the British empire. It has even driven me into the “Pillory of Print;” and unworthy as I feel to intrude myself on the public notice, yet I trust that the motive will disarm criticism. I desire to write for the benefit of the million, and if on their behalf I can throw one useful idea into the public treasury of mind, or give the smallest impetus to alleviate human suffering, I shall be amply repaid for my humble attempt.

Our colonial possessions are almost boundless. Where are they not?

“Far as the breeze can bear—the billows foam—
Survey our empire.” *

Public attention is now much directed to the subject of emigration to relieve the myriads which throng us, and thereby to supply that great demand for labour which the colonies are incessantly sending out. On

* European colonization may be traced back more than three centuries and a half ago; but it is only within sixty years that New South Wales has been colonized, the penal settlement of Port Jackson being now the flourishing city of Sidney, with nearly 40,000 inhabitants.

this subject the broad sheet of the "Times" of the 20th January has the following :—" We have an immense colonial empire ; to its resources, capabilities, and exigencies we now seem for the first time to awaken. Hitherto we have been accustomed to regard it as a magnificent incumbrance that testified to our greatness, but had nothing to do with our interests or the welfare of our population. This indolent indifference, fostered by successive secretaries for the colonies, has at length begun to thaw under the joint influence of national distress, national energy, and financial reformers. We are stretching our limits, and rubbing our eyes, and asking ourselves whatever has possessed us to let our colonies run so long in listlessness and sterility ? ' Let them go, and welcome ; no matter who takes them or to what use they are turned, they never have done and never could do any good to England.' Such might have been the cry of one class alone. Now that the attention of Government and the energies of individuals have demonstrated that there is a double good in the possession of vast dependencies, which not only absorb the redundant but provide fresh labour for the remaining population of the mother country, there is a certain case made out for those who would not give up at once every possession which does not return a direct and immediate per centage upon the outlay."

It is far from me to enter upon the dry statistics of our colonial empire. With British settlements in all climes, their teeming soil, mineral wealth, and forest shades, what part of the habitable globe is there that British industry, ingenuity, and perseverance have not penetrated ? Indians, Caffres, and Calmucs have been driven from their hunting-grounds ; the naked savage of Australia has been run down with his kangaroos ; and even the wild beast frightened from his lair at the approach of civilized man and nations have disappeared where the English dared to tread ; but not satisfied with compassing sea and land, they seek now to invade the frozen regions, to battle with the bears and to storm the ice-bergs, as if, forsooth, in their reckless march nature was to be conquered as well as kingdoms. This may be a compliment to science, but can never be useful to colonization.*

Let me turn from the frozen regions to those beautiful spots of earth which a bountiful Providence has committed to the charge of the British

* It is not too much to state that 10,000 emigrants might have been landed at Australia for the cost of this expedition.

Government—to the genial clime of Australia, for instance—yielding herbage so abundant that all Europe's sheep might pasture it in a flock; with mighty rivers inviting the navigator to penetrate her hidden recesses; with mineral riches so inexhaustible that they threaten to throw the mines of the mother country out of work; with space so vast that the whole of the British people might be absorbed in it without inconvenience. Turn again to New Zealand, with her undulating parky surface, mocking the utmost attempts of civilization to produce any thing so beautiful—with her former savages Christianized, her cannibals preferring pork to human flesh—here is a territory that would absorb all the Irish. The frozen regions of Canada * have their charms for the immigrant. Nature has so bountifully provided fuel and furs as to meet all cold contingencies; in her summer season she is so prolific that he may winter in somnolency and reap in autumn, with but little labour of his own. Or was I to stretch from thence to Caffre-land, the very reverse of the frozen regions, here again may every thing be found to foster the immigrant, with that compensation for tropical heats and fervid suns, in the prodigal soil and cool shades which the country affords. It may be truly said that all which the world produces may be found in the British empire. The bright luminary of heaven itself never retires from it. It is the greatest charge ever committed to man; an awful responsibility rests upon the Government for the due care and protection of this densely peopled country.

Modern science, ingenuity, and industry have served to bring the remotest parts of this vast dominion into easy and rapid contact, by which even seas are bridged, mountains are pierced, and communications made in a whisper from city to city with the speed of the lightning's flash. Science in the present century would have been deemed necromancy in the past, and such has been the march of mind within the present age that man stands aghast at his own works.

It may be almost deemed a divine inspiration to carry out the designs

* The Canadas, perhaps, represent the laws and institutions of the mother country more strongly than any other colony: it is a genuine sprout of the nation from whence it sprang. The emigration agent at Toronto declared that the "demand for labourers on the part of the farmers would have absorbed the entire of the last year's immigration into Upper Canada, unexampled as it was in numbers, if the infectious diseases amongst them had not naturally disinclined the employers from taking them into their families."

of a beneficent Providence, in order to alleviate human misery and to increase the stock of social happiness by the more equally planting his people throughout the earth ; so that redundancy and deficiency shall no longer exist, scarcity and plenty shall merge, Famine's grim aspect shall be banished from our soil, and smiling Plenty shall wave her garlands over the British empire. Thus shall it be proved that population constitutes wealth ; the bones and sinews of a man, as well as his intellect, shall be brought into the common stock of the national treasury ; and, instead of wretches dying by wholesale, the victims of want and despair, they shall be converted from a drain and pressure into the healthy strength of the community.

How is this to be effected ?

By a cheap, safe, and commodious emigration of the million to our colonies, so that every able-bodied pauper, male and female, should have the right of a free passage to the New World, and that the utmost encouragement should be given to the respectable classes seeking homes in new countries ; the tide of emigration undertaken by the Government would be thus assisted, directed, and forced, as it were, into those channels the most beneficial for all. It is the first duty of the State not only to seek to alleviate the miseries of the people, but to help their well-doing so far as legislation can do it, and to guide them in the way that they should go ; for it is notorious that the lower orders are little able to guide themselves. A great movement of the people is now taking place (particularly Irish), the under-currents of which shew frightful details of misery and distress from the want of such guidance, but *with which* the heart-rending occurrences on board emigrant ships would be avoided. There would be no more burnings of the " Ocean Monarch," nor suffocating of the " London-derry," enough to paralyse them on their march, and to *deter*, instead of to *encourage*, a steady emigration to the colonies. To give direction, confidence, and assistance to this migrating mass in the British empire calls aloud for Government aid ; it is not only a national *object*, but *one of the last importance*. The respectable classes seeking emigration are in the most instances totally ignorant of what they seek, as to locality, advantages, and difficulties ; it is really lamentable to hear how soon their little means are exhausted, and to what treacheries they are sometimes subject by unprincipled agents, often taking their money and delaying their passage, thereby

wasting their colonial capital, embarking them in rotten ships, and the thousand and one contingencies to which they are subjected, like sheep without a shepherd to guide them, whilst green pastures are waiting their arrival, to which it is the duty of a paternal Government to direct them.

When emigration becomes exclusively their charge, there will be thousands of people in continual movement from the mother country to the colonies; and I take it at a moderate computation that nearly a million of British subjects shall be annually removed from penury to abundance, from misery to happiness: and there should be none but Government agents employed in that mighty migration, with which, indeed, no private enterprise could compete. When once the energies of the British Parliament are brought to bear on a grand national object, no bounds can be set to what they shall accomplish; and is not a comprehensive scheme of "Emigration for the Million" equally deserving their energies? Here they war against famine, disease, crime, and misery. No more millions of money required to feed the Irish; send them to the soil where they can feed themselves; no more cholera to be expected in crowded thoroughfares—thin out the crowd to all who are willing to go; and no more such crime, dictated by want, as it horrifies one occasionally to hear of—poor starving wretches, breaking windows or plundering shops, that they may enjoy the luxury of being housed and fed in a gaol: send them to the emigrants' receiving ships, which should be established in every port, bearing the pennant of her colonial destination.

Arguments innumerable might be adduced to shew the necessity of a great comprehensive scheme for the "Emigration of the Million;" but they become almost superfluous to enforce the subject. Were I to go into the statistics of the cost of crime (I mean crime induced by want, which want would be thus relieved,) it is beyond all estimate the saving which this would effect; the average cost of those who have forfeited their liberty to the justice of the law will be found very far to exceed that which would give them a passage to the New World, to say nothing of the amount of moral economy, which is inappreciable. In the expense I include not only the cost of food and raiment for the criminal, but that of the costly establishment in which he is immured.

It is well understood and admitted that every sound and healthy immigrant landed (in Australia for instance) adds the value of £100

to the colonial stock of capital, and that he becomes productive to the amount of £50 per annum,* whilst as a pauper in this country he is wasting its resources, and burthens the community in an equal, if not greater degree. Flesh and blood, thews and sinews, in the colony become *capital*—in Ireland they are not only valueless, but an incumbrance to the soil which feeds them, and become a drain to the national resources. Should such things be? Forbid it, Heaven!

Such is the anomaly of our national poverty and our national wealth. Some soils being so over-peopled that they are driven like cattle from their tenancies, outraging civilization, humanity, and life: the poor Irish become reckless of existence, and take the wild justice of revenge on their landlords, staining their land with blood, which must provoke Heaven to wrath. This is a loud appeal indeed to a paternal Government to relieve this pressure of people by a comprehensive system of emigration, so that they might be sent to boundless estates, parks, and prairies, which beckon them to come and reap their abundant produce.

What estimate can be made of the oceans of rich soup annually wasted on the Australian soil from the carcasses boiled down to obtain the *tallow* only! nor what ship-loads of good mutton manure the ground because there is no one to partake the feast! to say nothing of the potatoes and pork of New Zealand, the abundance of which is a mockery to all appetite (even Irish); whilst, on the other hand, who can estimate the number of hungry poor, even worse off than the beasts that perish, because they are not bidden to the banquet?

It is well known that in no part of the world are the merely necessary elements of subsistence so costly as in this country; the Irish cotter, for every ten potatoes that he digs, had to give three to the landlord, one to the priest, (and one to O'Connell when he was alive,) deducting also one for the pig. Not half his labour was left him for alimentary subsistence, whilst in other countries more than nine-tenths are left to the producer; to say nothing of the struggle here with climate, fog, and blight, the latter having so awfully prevailed for three successive seasons.

The origin of all wealth is "that great Heaven-provided store-house"

* The expenditure of an Emigration Fund of £20,000 conveyed to the colony of South Australia 1000 adult emigrants, and each adult of the labouring class has obtained on the average, in money and rations, about £50 per annum.—See Report of Emigration Committee.

the soil. What a merciful dispensation when man was doomed to cultivate it, and to gather its produce, thereby to strengthen, expand, and perfect those physical faculties with which the Omnipotent had endowed him. Artificial life has grown up long since, and it may be doubted whether the hot-bed of society into which almost all classes are forced in this country contributes proportionally to the happiness of mankind, causing those attendant cares, anxieties, and struggles in life to maintain a *position* (which being *unnatural* cannot be *rational*). Here we are all too crowded—the people have not elbow-room—the gregariousness of man is, as it were, *forced* upon him; not a path but is too choked, be it professional, artistic, trading, or otherwise; there is no fair play in our legitimate pursuits. I would say that there is no other country where life is made so much a business of as in England; it is one incessant toil, mental and physical. I have mixed amongst numerous tribes of the great family of mankind—the Osmanlies, the Greeks, and the Orientals generally, who seem to take a quiet placid course, content with little, and that little easily acquired. Life seems to them an *enjoyment*, not a *toil*, divested of that yoke of bondage which so characterises my countrymen, of whom it may be truly said, “all the labour of man is for the mouth, yet the appetite is not filled;” there is such a thirsty eagerness in the English character, amongst whom pride and ambition engender strife; every one is emulous to out-do his neighbour; there is a reaching on and a pressing forward, as though this world was his all-in-all, “his hope of glory,” whereas “piercing him to the heart,” it often sends the wretched devotee a prisoner to Hades—often a victim to suicide.

But I digress from my subject of “Emigration for the Million.”

We must begin with the British Legislature itself, from whom all English administrative power for good or for ill proceeds. This secret influence both in our own land and to the remotest parts of the world is felt; it is not only a pulsation, it is an electric wire, which reaches from the Cape to the North Pole, and could my humble pamphlet penetrate within the walls of the House of Commons, I would say, “legislate “for England and the English, and not *exclusively* for Ireland and “the Irish;” for one single thought or energy expended in the last session for the former a hundred were expended for the latter. Why not leave Ireland to the tender mercies of the “Viceroy,” who seems to know how to govern them? The Irish love coercion—they will never

be satisfied with any other rule ; place them amongst the colonies ; cut them off from being a nation, and they must then maintain themselves like any other colony ; you thus relieve the British people from a frightful incubus ; and it is but fair play that, whilst they with difficulty feed themselves, they should not have to feed the Irish. It is a notorious fact, account for it as we may, that with all the labour, anxieties, and expense of the British legislature on the behalf of Ireland, the deeper the poor people seem to sink into their own bogs ; you cannot help them. Give them their favorite “ Repale,”—treat them as colonists, and then they must keep themselves. Now is the time to test their capacity.

It is generally admitted that the present system of emigration is a stain to our country (as I have already shewn) ; and that a grand national organization is necessary to direct the wandering steps of the people from penury to plenty—from idleness to industry ; and first I would begin to reform the Colonial Office itself.

It is a moral and physical impossibility that one small cranium (even that of my Lord Grey) can be cognizant *of*, much less competent *to* direct, the affairs of so many growing kingdoms to lay the foundations of empires, which are destined perhaps to eclipse Europe herself. I have long treasured the idea thrown out by my contemporary scribe “ The Times,” that a *Colonial Board* should be established with several members, to whom particular administrations should be committed, who shall be responsible for the emigration returns of such colonies, and for their statistics of revenues, population, trade, mines, agriculture, &c. The whole may come under the head of a “ Colonial Ministry ;” but there ought to be particular departments for New Zealand, Australia, the Cape, &c., to which the emigrating public *might refer*.* Let me cursorily glance at what has already been done in assisting the surplus population to find their way to the colonies.

By the Government emigration returns, it appears (from such vessels as were superintended by their agents) that in the year 1847 the total

* Since this was written I find my opinion corroborated by a very competent judge on the subject, and from whose memorable speech I shall venture to quote. “ For some time experience in the Colonial Office has persuaded me that it is impossible for any man, be his talents and industry what they may, adequately to administer the complicated affairs of the British colonies scattered all over the world.”—*Lord Howick*, 1840.

number of emigrants embarked amounted only to 142,154 persons, irrespective of many thousands of the better English classes who are not included in this return, which comprise the poor Irish who were flying from the dreadful famine of that year, and whose arrival spread such consternation in the Canadas and elsewhere, bringing with them pestilence, and eating up the land as a sort of locusts, before localities could be found for them. Surely no stronger circumstances can be offered to force the Government to some sanatory regulations for emigration than this outpouring of the poor Irish into our colonies.

I also learn that the total number of emigrants for the last year will probably not quite equal that of the preceding year, so that in the two years not a half million of people will have quitted the mother country for the colonies, when at least this number ought to be sent annually ; and it must be obvious that so gigantic a movement requires the careful organisation of a paternal Government for the well-being of the emigrants themselves and for the social benefit of the community. Such amount of emigration does not equal the annual repletion of the people, reckoned at nearly three hundred thousand per annum.

I will now just allude to New South Wales. It is well known that twenty years ago there was no such thing as an emigration of free laborers to that colony or to Van Dieman's Land. In 1837 the Government attention was called to the subject by the South Australian Company to sell the Crown lands, and appropriate the proceeds to sending out free laborers to New South Wales. Commissioners were appointed to superintend the measure, and, including the year 1846, no less than 100,000 emigrants were sent to Australia ; of three-fourths of whom the expenses were paid by the sale of Crown lands. In the three successive years during that paralysis of the Sidney trade, the whole number sent out did not exceed 7000 persons, but in the last year the land revenues having materially increased, no less a number than 17,000 persons have been sent to that colony.

Surely this is great encouragement to proceed : but what have the Government grants been to aid this great work of emigration ? They have granted just £10,000, at the pressing instance of Lord Ashley to send out some of his ragged children, just £10 each ; every one of them being worth double the money immediately on landing.

To carry out this system of emigration, there are only twelve Government agents appointed in the United Kingdom ; " and what are they

among so many" crowds of wanderers seeking a home on the distant prairies of the British empire? The Government Immigration Commissioners in the colonies are, I understand, more numerous and well appointed. It is the home machinery, therefore, which requires expansion and activity, and to which I shall confine my attention.

Our national character for humanity, justice, and liberality is much identified with a paternal care of the people. Love awards it and the law compels it; in confirmation of which I will just glance at the care taken of the surplus population of the parishes. At a vestry meeting of the parishioners held annually, (generally at Easter,) a return is made of the destitute children whom the parents are unable to provide for; these are all apprenticed out upon the respectable inhabitants until they attain their majority, whom the *law compels them to take*, each family according to their means; thus instead of becoming an incubus to the soil and a drain to its resources, these children are converted into healthy links of the community; and it has often happened that the opulence and intelligence of the first class have sprung from a parish apprentice.* What has been done *parochially* I propose to do *nationally*, to gather up the national wealth of our surplus people, that both personally and collectively the whole shall be benefited.

How is this to be effected?

In pursuing the argument, I must not lose sight of how practically to effect the "emigration of the million," which I look upon as a leading national object of the present day; and first as to the "ways and means," the sinews of all undertakings, I ask only for a very modest sum to effect so great an object, viz., for the loan of *one million sterling* to be issued under the head of *Colonial Consols*, and advanced for the purpose of sending out all healthy and able-bodied male and female emigrants who may apply for a free passage to the colony, subject to such regulations as the Government might see fit to enforce, re-payable with interest at four per cent. by the colony to which the emigrants are sent, they being hypothecated as it were to the Government for their respective amounts. I see nothing derogatory in

* Sir Matthew Wood, Bart. the late M.P. for the City of London, was only a parish apprentice at Tiverton, in Devonshire. My informant had often seen him *bare-footed* at his occupation of a wool-comber, from whence, by gradual transition, he became not only a legislator of his country and chief magistrate of London, but the entertainer of princes at his palace in the city.

this to the emigrant, for when he contracts debts in this country he is equally hypothecated to his creditor until the same be discharged ; but in the colony to which he is destined, he has the probability of immediate means of payment. Flesh and blood are there at a premium, whilst in Ireland they are valueless ; the emigrant embodies in himself his own capital stock, of which I have shewn the value. The living cargo being regularly consigned to the immigration commissioners in the colony, it will be for them to receive, regulate, and provide for them such employers and pursuits for which they may be respectively qualified ; the demand is in all cases likely to exceed the supply ; the probability is that the master would immediately emancipate the immigrant from the Government claim against him for his passage ; but if this be not done, he remains pledged to the payment of the money recoverable by colonial law, with the interest accruing ; thus the Government may be placed beyond all risk, relieve the community at home, and assist it in the colony to a degree inappreciable.

Assuming then, not the *liberality* but the *justice* of this Parliamentary grant to facilitate “ the emigration of the million,” I will now see what other resources can be brought to bear on this important point—I allude to the means which the Government possess of expatriating this large mass of population. Would it be deemed derogatory to the naval service if the British ships were thus employed ? Here again the anomaly stares us in the face of our national wealth and our national penury ; with ships rotting in the harbours, perfectly useless, and likely to be so, for any purposes of warfare, which have cost the country that very food which the poor emigrants are now wanting. Why should not these be brought into the service of relieving the empire from the burthen of its surplus people, and assisting to build up with them future empires the benefit of which shall reciprocate to all generations ?

But this is a delicate subject ; I must deal tenderly with it ; let me endeavour to make it popular. I do not ask that the whole of the British navy should be thus employed, or that the gallant Napier should be commissioned to lead the fleet, (no service will suit *him* where he cannot scent the powder ;) but let a certain number of ships be commissioned, with the officers and crew on full pay ; let the usual ship’s stores be supplied to the emigrant ; take out the great guns and fill in with hammocks ; even clothing, if it be required, should be given, from a shirt to a blue jacket ; thus the Government stores, which are abound-

ing and spoiling, may be made applicable. I take it that a three-decker man-of-war, formerly encumbered with a hundred and twenty guns, would accommodate two thousand emigrants with tolerable comfort, as well as the working crew of the ship. The stern discipline of a man-of-war would keep this moving village in good order, so as to ensure their comfort and safety. How many such floating castles may be dispatched to the colonies in the course of the year must be left to the exigency of the demand, and to the activity of the colonial board; emigration would thus become popular, the respectable classes would be flocking to the New World, when a Government passage can be secured cheap, safe, and commodious.

There will be gradations of emigrants which I will class under three heads,—the voluntaries, the helpless, and the “forçats” or coerced; (the latter must be consigned to the penal colonies, whither I cannot follow them;) the former will comprise those respectable classes who possess means to immediately locate themselves as settlers on the soils to which they are tending, and who of course will be able at once to pay their passage in the Government ships, thereby securing to them advantages with which no private ships can compete. We have the most awful instances of the recklessness with which sometimes such ships are fitted out, without any regard to the safety or comfort of the passengers, who are taken on board more as a cargo of human rubbish than any thing else. I allude particularly to the crowding of the vessels with the poor Irish emigrants to the North American colonies in 1847; the deaths on the passage amounted to 6 per cent., and their mortality to 11 per cent. more soon after their arrival, which shews the necessity of the Government undertaking and directing the tide of emigration, the want of which in this particular instance cost them £125,000.* I assume that these respectable classes will be more numerous than the helpless, for with such facilities of voyaging, emigration would become attractive, popular, nay, irresistible. Oceans’ highways being bridged over, it will be no more than transmitting the British population from province to province. Colonies now-a-days, with the Government aid of reaching them, will be scarcely so distant as what counties formerly were in England; the ties of kindred need not be

* See the Eighth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1848.

severed ; take ties, families, and tribes ; there is abundant room in the New World, nor will they be found wanting in the old ; the present system of emigration is so precarious, costly, and unsafe, that the poor people almost shudder on the brink of embarkation, whereas by a comprehensive and well-organised plan they would be encouraged, the voyage becomes a pleasant pastime, the anticipated joys of a new home will buoy them up with hope, and life once more become a blessing instead of a wretched slavery.

The second class, the helpless, would be perhaps the most numerous from the redundancy of the people, particularly Irish. It is overwhelming to see the last Government returns on this subject, by which they are estimated to amount to 900,000 paupers only ; from the same authority I find that in England they amount to 1,800,000 paupers, or just double that of Ireland, making in the aggregate two millions and three quarters of people to be provided for in *some way*. This is frightful, and the sluices of emigration must be immediately opened, or this vampire* will eat up the resources of the mother country to its inevitable ruin. An emigration receiving ship with her colonial pennant should float in every large harbour of the kingdom ; there would then be a resource for all wandering homeless outcasts, who instead of being sent to the unions for their temporary accommodation should have a right of reception on board these ships, subject of course to their being approved of by the commissioner as to their eligibility for colonial destination. This would relieve so much of the destitution of parishes and even of the streets, that it appears to me to offer an incalculable benefit both nationally and locally, viz. *that every destitute person should have a right to a free passage to any colony which the Government may see fit, who shall be found to be an healthy able-bodied pauper*. It may possibly be objected that they may not be disposed to go to the colonies, and that consequently you cannot coerce them. I can scarcely imagine any objection on their part when they are to exchange penury for abundance, and seeing how encouraging are the reports from all the new settlers of the kindness with which they are received ; every emigrant ship is hailed with the loudest greetings—they are immediately domiciled, and matrons appointed to take charge of young females until they are provided with places or husbands. One

* The population of Great Britain and Ireland amount to 28,000,000.

account stated that the greater part of a consignment were *asked in church* on the following week. I would ask the timid emigrant what is there in leaving the old for the new country? it is but from province to province; they never quit British protection, British associations, or the ægis of British laws. Besides, the rapid sweets of industrious emigrants is the greatest encouragement for others to follow: one credible instance is familiar to me of a man of family (that is, having a wife, one daughter, and six sons) who obtained a free passage to Melbourne in 1842; they were hired immediately as shepherds, farm servants, and otherwise, at large wages. By their industry and economy they soon accumulated (like the bundle of sticks well wythed together), and perhaps there was a little dash of intellect in the whole beyond the ordinary, (the man very modestly tells his own story,) by purchasing some small parcels of land, improving, selling, clearing again, and so on, after living on the full for the seven years on chops and bannocks, he acquired a small farm of his own and is now worth £1100!!!

In addition to this, there is a probability that steam vessels will shortly be employed to convey emigrants to Australia, thereby shortening the voyage from three months to six weeks; an extensive plan of railway is also projected for that colony which must depend entirely on a large arrival of immigrants, without which these public ways cannot be carried out, so that emigration and immigration will reciprocally benefit the mother country and the colony. Here the sickly destitute are already provided for in the unions and workhouses, which as a nucleus of charity may be deemed an ornament to any country (there may be and there are abuses, but I speak of them as a whole).

It should be required of the guardians of the different unions in the kingdom to make monthly returns to the colonial board of all the paupers in their establishment eligible for emigration, by whom arrangements may be made for their reception on board the receiving ships the most conveniently situated, and their being so drafted off would prove an immense relief parochially, and ultimately a national good to the community generally: it would be like gathering up the public property, since population constitutes wealth; it may be neglected or it may be abused, but if duly administered by a paternal Government and scattered on the colonial soils wanting such a manure, it will produce on some thirty, on some a hundredfold; thus, when work gets scarce, manufacturing or agricultural, the labourer would have an immediate resource

instead of waiting in this country merely a consumer and not a producer. The colony will feed the emigrant, but the mother country must clothe him; it is estimated that every colonial inhabitant will expend from £7 to £10 in clothing. They first derive the riches from the soil and thus return it to their native land; every five emigrants will put to work a manufacturing labourer at home. One million of emigrants annually expatriated will return to the mother country the value of ten millions sterling.

Was I to go into 'the statistics of our cotton population which only Lancashire affords, what an appalling view does it offer of human society; of the extremes of opulence and penury; of bloated abundance and actual want! the cotton lord in his palace, the cotton serf in his cellar; who can count the gradations of misery between the two? This cannot be deemed a healthy state of society, and indirectly condemns the Legislature under which it has sprung up—the result, seemingly, of coal and steam propagating mankind in the shape of billies and jennies, whilst the flesh and blood Billies and Jennies are reduced to slavery and want; thus it becomes imperative for the Government to provide a cheap, safe, and commodious "Emigration for the Million."

Of the manufacturing classes a talented writer remarks:—"Consider
 " the numbers that have gathered and are gathering in our crowded
 " streets. Beings capable of enjoyment, who once, it may be,
 " luxuriated in the green fields, and felt the inspiration of the incense-
 " breathing morn, but are now cabined, cribbed, and confined in some
 " dark cellar or noisome alley,—reflect upon the multitudes who have
 " grown up from infancy in these cheerless, lightless, airless dwellings.
 " Bear in mind that immortal beings, careless, ignorant, sinful, are
 " passing generation after generation out of these dark abodes to the
 " still darker home that awaits the rich as well as the poor. Remember,
 " too, that their places are not left vacant, but filled up by others more
 " in number, and that the human mass is increasing in a fearful degree;
 " think of all this and then say whether education, &c."*—but, differing
 from the benevolent writer, I say that emigration will be the great
 panacea for all these evils. Transport them from "cheerless, lightless,
 "airless dwellings" to the verdant prairies of New South Wales. It is
 physical amelioration and not mental which the destitute classes want;

* Fraser's Magazine for February.

it seems to me a mockery to teach when hunger gnaws—the mind will never expand in a starving body—pork and potatoes first, syntax next; and though I highly appreciate national education, and am thankful for the Government aid towards it, I am convinced that the money so expended, if employed in expatriating the poor people to new homes, will be doubly productive and by them more appreciated. All street paupers should be immediately consigned to the receiving ships, and the power given to a policeman on finding them begging or selling matches (the same thing) in the metropolis, or elsewhere, at once to call a cab and take them off to the emigrant ships in the docks; this would detect want from vagrancy, the sturdy beggar could no longer importune the sometimes affrighted passenger, and poverty would find an immediate relief.* For all police cases the magistrate should have the power of committing the prisoner to the penal receiving ships, to be tried on board by a magistrate specially appointed for that purpose, and, on conviction, let him breathe the air of the penal colony with the greatest despatch.

Our great emporiums of criminals should be thinned out; the Millbank and Model Prisons, where so many thousands of able-bodied, intelligent, and talented prisoners are almost hermetically sealed up (there can be no crime without talent), producing the most frightful results of the silent system, when they might be productive labourers in the new world; let them be sent off and provision made for their immediate expatriation to the colonies, so that all the Government tendencies might be enlisted in this great national work of “Emigration for the Million.”

I have previously said, that I pretend not to enter upon colonial statistics, which would be irrelevant to my purpose, nor at all becoming my limited knowledge of the subject; but on glancing again at the “Commissioners’ Report,” (which being official must be correct,) I see that the colonies are gaping for this surplus population, so that there can be no fear of their being over-stocked.

Of Port Philip district alone, the commissioner of that colony writes, “we want 20,000 emigrants, including 7,000 workmen; the number of “sheep pasturing here being upwards of 8,000,000, and of horned “cattle 140,000, being respectively one-fifth, and one-third of the

* “The beggar’s trade is so lucrative that it is supposed they collect a million of “pounds annually from the public in the metropolis only.”—*Times*.

“ whole computed to be contained in Great Britain ; the population in 1846 did not exceed 25,000, and in all the settlements of the Australian colonies, viz., New South Wales, Van Dieman’s Land, South Australia, West Australia, and Port Philip, not exceeding 250,000.”

South Australia is, perhaps, the most remarkable instance of rapid progress of any ; it was founded by some private adventurers in 1836, when the price of townlands at Adelaide was only 12s. per acre ; within three days of the town being laid down 500 sections were sold at the rate of £6 per acre, and when it became a Government colony, they brought from £1,000 to £2,000 per acre, and from that period to 1845 the colony’s exports increased from £15,000 to £130,000 ; in 1846 the copper mines* were discovered, and from that time the exports amounted to £354,000 ; the population, from an inconsiderable number, amounting to 31,000 ; this seems to be the “ El Dorado ” of all colonies, and so encouraging are its prospects that a fleet of emigrants may find resting places in green pastures, with every promise of abundance ; in the new colonies there are no convicts ; they are confined to New South Wales, where they do not exceed 6,000.

Melbourne is also an instance of rapid progress ; it is more decidedly agricultural ; ten years ago there were located in it only 80 families, whereas there are now more than 1,000 houses assessed at the rental of £50,000 per annum.

To shew what may be done by an agricultural people, Van Dieman’s Land exports in 1846 amounted to more than half a million sterling ; no less than one fourth of this was for grain and flour exported to England and the adjacent colonies ; the average price of wheat being then 4s. 6d. per bushel, which was 1s. higher than that of the previous year. This colony, if sufficiently populated, would render England independent of any other supply of bread stuffs.

“ The agriculture of the colony is reported to be capable of very great improvement, and the amount of produce generally, per acre, to be far below that which an ordinary degree of skill and attention should produce, with a soil and climate such as the colony is blest with.”†

* The Burra-Burra Mines have proved a mine of wealth beyond almost all other mining speculations, an original £6 share having realized £800.

† See the Eighth Report, Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.

Western Australia is reported to be full of coal on the banks of the Irwin, and the distance of the coal from the sea coast to be only forty miles. Sandal Wood is an article of export, 500 tons being already shipped, worth from £8 to £10 per ton.

New Zealand is a colony rising into great importance since the land disputes with the natives have been settled; large purchases have been made by the Crown for new settlements at Otago and elsewhere, to which emigrants have already been destined; here immense tracts are inviting their culture, which promise very abundant produce, with a climate most salubrious and inviting.

The total number of emigrants in twenty-three years, including 1847, amounts to 1,737,597* or about 75,000 per annum only; of these nearly one half went to the United States, so that we are helping our neighbours to the surplus wealth of our people, which cannot be reckoned at a less value than £20,000,000; it is an undoubted truth, which time confirms and no fallacy can confute, that population is wealth, if duly administered and rendered productive (the paramount duty of all Governments); the United States prove my assertion; they give ready reception to these elements of greatness until their states are become almost boundless, and their wealth unfathomable.

The burthen of all undertakings with John Bull is the expense, and so sensitive is he when the pocket is attacked, that some of our senators are distinguished as "penny wise and pound foolish;" but if I can only shew some probable profits from the transaction, my humble pamphlet on the behalf of my poor suffering countrymen (or the sweepings of humanity, as the "Times" calls them†), may be more favourably regarded; I will treat it, therefore, as a *mercantile* transaction;—assuming every able-bodied pauper when landed in Australia to add to the capital stock £100 sterling, I ask for a very modest sum, and that only on loan, to effect the "Emigration of the Million," viz., of a Parliamentary grant for one million sterling (already alluded to), and that the Government shall put in commission 100 ships of different classes for

* See the Eighth Report, Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.

† I have often wondered who is this invisible scribe, the point of whose pen is sharper than any two-edged sword, in his obscurity directing public opinion at his will; feared and courted by all writers, he will hardly notice such small fry as myself. (Gershom.)

the conveyance of the emigrants to the colonial settlements. I estimate that the expense of each emigrant would not cost them more than £10* (to Australia for instance); this would apply to the *helpless* only, but I reckon more on the *voluntaries* for paying the expense, and that they would not object to pay £20† for a safe and commodious passage to that colony; the Government ships' discipline and safety would give such an impetus to the move of this class, that in the first year I estimate they will amount to more than the total number of emigrants from the United Kingdom in 1847, and that these with the helpless and coerced would be equal to a half million within that time. As to the immediate details of this large transaction, they must be left to wiser heads than mine; I only strive to arouse public attention to the paramount necessity that something be done immediately to relieve this country of the suffering people, particularly Irish, which alone requires a half million being thinned out to give relief to the remainder. I think that no ship should convey two classes of emigrants, but that the voluntaries should have the best and exclusive accommodation; here would be an immediate return of the capital with profit; "Colonial Consols" thus employed would command a premium at the Stock Exchange. Nor do I anticipate any loss whatever on that portion of it advanced to the helpless, who will be hypothecated to the colony for payment, and subjected to colonial law for the amount with interest until the same be discharged. I would guarantee this stock for 1 per cent. and get money by it; this class will be more immediately subject to ship discipline than the former, I mean as to ship diet, ship biscuit, twice laid, &c. I speak from experience that short commons is favourable to health, and it should be strictly enforced that no alcohol be permitted on board beyond the doctor's shop; the healthiest people I have ever met with are ignorant even of the name of "alcohol."

With respect to the "coerced," it is a subject quite beyond me as to their mode of transit, treatment, destination, &c.; humanity will dictate that reformation more than punishment is aimed at in their deportation; the sum of £250,000‡ is about the average Government expense of the

* The emigration commissioners say £20, but this includes shipping.

† Safe and well-provisioned passages to this colony are now advertised by private ships for £20.

‡ The convicts at home and abroad cost £370,000 per annum.

convict establishments in Australia, where they ought to be producers instead of wasting the resources of the colony.

But if the "ways and means" to carry out this great system of emigration be the great stumbling block, perhaps other resources may be found than a parliamentary grant. It has been questioned by many whether the vast extension of our colonies tends to strengthen the British empire, since they are collectively far from being self-supporting, and they become rather a drain than a help to the mother country. By the parliamentary returns ten years ago (and I have no later references) the total cost to Great Britain for her foreign possessions was then nearly two millions and a half per annum—this included all the garrison establishments—but for her plantations and settlements it was reckoned at one million and a-half. This is a heavy clog upon an exhausted exchequer, thus impairing our resources instead of improving them—a debtor instead of a creditor account.* The colonial government and colonial speculations offer a most eventful history if only a tithe of it could be collected and presented to the public view, of colonies bought and sold and given away, with the wildest speculations fostered by the Government, to the utter ruin of individuals and to the ill-doing of the colonies themselves.

Swan River was the most disastrous ; it cost the Government more than £150,000, and it is notorious that Mr. Peel emigrating to it with one-third of this amount of capital, viz. £50,000, was deserted by all his followers, and, at length, had not a servant left to make his bed.

The whole of Prince Edward's Island was given away in one day in 1767, and under the fostering care of Lord Selkirk has become highly productive and an ornament to the British Crown, and I may go into other speculations, but they are extraneous to my purpose.

By spreading so widely the surplus people over the British colo-

* Our forty-three colonial Governors cost the country more than £120,000 per annum to support their establishments. "*My cousin Torri*," with £7,000 a-year for a Ceylonese viceroy, is certainly pretty well paid, particularly with his aptitude at feuds. But I will not cavil at Lord John's patronage if he will only carry out the "Emigration for the Million." I should propose to open a ledger account with each of these colonies, and that the balance be struck annually of the payments and returns ; this would form an interesting and a valuable blue book well worth the expense of printing. Mr. Hume may be book-keeper if he will first take a few lessons in arithmetic ; his vigilance is quite nullified by his blunders.—G.

nies, it is questionable not only whether it is advantageous to the empire but even to the emigrants themselves. Why not build up one empire at a time? (I speak of Australia always, because I am not so well acquainted with any other.)* The greater the concentration of the people (for a new country) the greater the results, either of agriculture or of commerce. It is well known that six agricultural labourers individually will not raise half as much produce as six collectively. Concentration, not scattering, should be the order for all emigrants under the Government control; the voluntaries may of course be sent to any localities which they may require, but the helpless must be subject to the Government commissioners.

The coerced must be kept strictly to the penal colonies; any admixture with the free settlers would act as a blight to their prosperity.

But to increase the emigration fund, why not sell some of these useless appendages to the British Crown? I mean the unproductive wastes of so many millions of acres acquired by conquest or by discovery. Sell Oregon to the Americans, to whom it seems geographically to belong; in their greed after territorial acquisition they would bid for it, perhaps, some millions of pounds sterling. Sell Vancouver's Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, they can afford to give a half million for it.† Sell the Mauritius to the French,—they are much in want of colonial territory as a vent for their noisy socialists; the tranquillity of Europe seems to depend on opening new localities for the repletion of the people; whilst at home they become volcanic members, they may by emigration be made industrious labourers of the soil. The ancient Isle of France would be a favourite purchase with the French, by whom it was first colonised in 1721, and remained in their possession until 1810, when it became a British colony. The Mauritius is in debt, thirsting for population, and could locate at least 500,000 French refugees,—I will put it down at a million.

The Falkland Islands, who will buy them? The wild stock and wild cattle are already disposed of to Mr. Lafone for £60,000; why not sell the territories to the best bidder, from which there is not enough

* Emigration has always tended particularly towards this colony; from the year 1838 to 1847 the population of New South Wales has increased from 97,000 to 205,000, the exports from £302,000 to £1,870,000.

† Since this was written I perceive that the island has been disposed of to the Hudson's Bay Company.

revenue to pay Governor Moody's salary? I will put them down at a half million (and money enough). And the Bahamas might as well go likewise, their only value which I can find out being some salt ponds, worth about £3000 per annum. I could point out on the map many British colonies not only unproductive but expensive to the mother country; surely at a brisk sale they ought to bring a great many millions sterling! "Colonies for sale" at the auction mart would be a novel sort of traffic, but I would extend the advertisement to all the states of Europe.

Having cursorily given a digest of my plan for the "Emigration of the Million," it appears to me to require very little argument to enforce it; and I do hope and trust that our senators in the present session will make it the leading feature of their legislation: it cries aloud for their fostering care—a starving population is at the very doors of their House—food is getting scarce in Ireland—the *people must be fed*, and the national resources must be drawn upon for this purpose, which might be better applied by sending them where they can feed themselves. With respect to Ireland I cannot do better than quote the energetic language of "J" in the last "Edinburgh Review" for January:—

"If the whole resources of the British empire, European, American, and African, do not enable us to remove from Ireland every year 400,000 emigrants for four or five years to come, let all those who have the means prepare against the evil that is coming—let them sell their properties whilst they contain value—let them invest their savings in securities beyond the grasp of the collector—let them seek out some country which does not support a standing army of 2,700,000 paupers. And let us all, to use Mr. Mills's words, extract from the world with epicurean indifference the pleasures which it may afford, without making useless struggles for its improvement. For we may be sure that if we allow the cancer of pauperism to complete the destruction of Ireland, and think to throw fresh venom into the already predisposed body of England, the ruin of all that makes England worth living in is a question only of time."*

We live in exigent times; the teeming people of Great Britain and

* Since this was written Parliament has been applied to for another grant of £50,000 (and this as an instalment only) to feed the destitute Irish. I shudder almost at the depths of their distress when the poor creatures are clamouring for bread, but what can this sum of money do for them? it just serves for a short time that they may "eat to live," but it does nothing for their permanent benefit, and the

Ireland *must be cared for* ; they are a trust committed by God himself to a paternal government, and the vengeance of Heaven will rest upon those who neglect that trust, even if humanity did not suggest that so far as legislation can do it they must be provided for.

I must not write too much lest I should never be read. I aim just to invite the public attention, not to *weary* it, for " of making many books there is no end."* When I enforce the necessity that some millions of people should be drafted off to new homes before as a community we shall be in a healthy state, let it not be feared that we shall thereby impair our manufacturing or agricultural strength ; not at all. It is high time that a poor laborer should obtain a fair day's pay for a fair day's work ; and I should rejoice to hear that in Lancashire labor was scarce, and that the competition amongst the manufacturers was more for workpeople than for cotton wool ; nor should any agricultural laborer have less than twelve shillings a week ; it is little enough. The most deceptive of all delusions which has been yet palmed upon the public mind, (and too successfully so,) I take to be the dogma that low prices are the most productive. Never has the manufacturing trade been so degraded, so paralysed, and so unproductive, as since this monster came in like a canker-worm upon the poor laborers. They must be screwed down—half-starved or fed on " devil's-dust " forsooth, just to turn out a piece of cotton cloth perhaps a shilling or two cheaper, with a view to increase the manufacturer's demand. But I fearlessly assert *that it has never had that effect*. Where the cotton

English must find the food. What is become of the eight millions already spent upon them ? sunk in their own bogs. Had this been applied to the purpose of emigration, a half million of people might by this time have been located in the colonies. Much is said about the fertility of the Irish soil, and that it is sufficient to feed the whole population ; but experience proves that the Irish will never do anything in their own country ; their inveterate habits of mendicancy and sloth paralyse them, ignorance and superstition stultify them, bigotry and darkness are fostered by their Romish priests, by whom they are " fast bound in misery and iron." Send them to the new world and they soon become efficient labourers, agriculturists, and proprietors. This " first flower of the field and gem of the ocean," as O'Connell used to designate the island, according to Mr. M'Gregor's estimate, has cost this country since the year 1831 from two to four millions per annum. The £50,000 is asked for specifically for twenty unions, and it will last them only a fortnight ; what is to be done then ? They must come to emigration at last !

* I invite that mighty engine, the public press, to take up the cause of the poor people, and to thunder at the doors of Parliament " Emigration for the Million."

garment is wanted, the infinitesimal difference of this shilling or two is never felt nor asked about. *The same clothing will be required and worn*, whether workmen be well or ill fed. I have visited so many markets and bazars, European and Asiatic, that I speak this from experience, and I can likewise say from experience that *anything like the destitution in this country I have never seen in any other. The depreciation of wages is to gloat the manufacturer, and not to help the consumer.* There is too much *distinction of classes in the same human family.* "Live and let live" ought to be the motto, which both religion and humanity dictate, and the Government are bound to give the laboring population the option to go on board *free* the emigration receiving ships, when they cannot get good wages here. Humanity dictates it to avert destitution or perhaps starvation at home. Religion dictates it, since the poor creatures in *physical* destitution will always remain in *spiritual* destitution; it cannot be otherwise; when the body is pinched the soul starves. Fill a church with half-famished wretches, and they will know no more about predestination to life than they would of mathematics. (I would approach the subject reverently.) I mean to say that you may build and endow churches, but unless you prepare a congregation as it were by physical comforts and mental ease, they will never profit by spiritual instruction.

Policy dictates it, since a temporary expenditure will bring large gains. Every sound member of the community will become productive. The tax for destitution will most rapidly diminish, and the British Government, spreading her paternal arm from province to province in this work of mercy and love, shall reap jewels for her diadem as unfading as the empire itself.

Britain's episcopate arm is already stretched out to her colonial possessions by these numerous appointments of bishops and pastors for the flock, although emanating entirely from pious benevolence, clerical exertion, and self-devotedness to the cause, of which a Selwyn was proud, (who, raising the cross and unfolding its banners, has boldly proclaimed Christ to the heathen). I merely mean to shew, that wherever a British family may locate, that they may fraternise with England's Church, and find her clergy in the most distant prairies; and although they may be out of the sound of the "church-going bell," yet they can at the same moment with their countrymen at home enjoy the ritual of their forefathers, offer the incense of their praises, and chaunt their hallelujahs to the Triune God, thus illustrating the language of our

beautiful liturgy, "the Holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge thee."

But should the Government fail to perform this great duty of providing "Emigration for the Million," and our senators be otherwise occupied in debating some impossible budget, or on other subjects extraneous to providing for the poor people, I see but one other way of draining off the surplus population, viz. by a *legitimate European war*: for it is a palpable fact, that the average mortality of Europe is by no means equal to the exigencies of the increase. Pestilence has failed to do its work; and if emigration fails likewise, then *war* must do it; better die *on* the field than *in* the field. Our foreign minister must pick a quarrel with some neighbouring state, for which he will not be at a loss; and what they will spend in war would transport the whole of the British population to our antipodean possessions. The time has arrived in Europe when war may be considered more as a blessing than a calamity, and the death of Napoleon an irretrievable misfortune. France, Austria, and Prussia, had they been arrayed against each other, would have had no civil strife at home. Dynasties and empires would not have fallen. Nothing cements a nation so strongly as foreign aggression.

To maintain their position kings must now cater for a war. Statesmanship will consist in strife. I may boldly say that peace is an unnatural state for European nations. History proves this. Amongst God's ancient people war was declared from Heaven; David praises God that he had "taught his hands to war and his fingers to fight." Human nature will be always the same, and until you can subdue the passions, purify the heart, and regulate the will, there will be no permanent peace for mankind. But I digress.

Even whilst I write, the subject of emigration is being constantly agitated by the public press; it is to be one of the great parliamentary questions. Humanity is outraged by the secrets coming out of establishments for pauper children, who are consigned, like so much rubbish, to the tender mercies of the child farmer, not always faithful to his trust;* but as the "Times" pertinently observes, "it appears that

* The coroner's verdict has already been pronounced of *manslaughter*, which from the misnomer, I should think, would never stand good in law; it was only "boyslaughter;" of this the same law takes no cognizance. Upon my oath as a jurymen I could not have found him guilty of *manslaughter*.

the sum of £13 : 4 annually is necessary to maintain children at the Tooting cholera-house; on the other hand, the payment of £7 will transport an emigrant from our shores to the Australian colonies."* Then why not send them at once? Squads of children under merciful guidance may be consigned and grow up as Australians, and though not to be educated by the aborigines, they may be deemed natives; the moment they are landed they are happily provided for, and parishes may thus be permanently relieved; (I speak of a public provision more merciful than they can obtain in England).

For this purpose I would send off a cargo of pauper children, well regulated, bedded, and nursed; for, in my estimation, emigration is the great panacea for all classes; it would prove a national relief not only for those who go, but for those that remain; even with the comparatively affluent it would become popular. The helpless must merge their *choice* into *necessity*, and the coerced should have no alternative. Never keep a criminal in this land when you can transport him, where with industry and activity he may retrieve his station in society. The old country is exhausted, as it were, and as I have before observed, it is almost a struggle to live in it in the ordinary routines of honesty and industry. Life is an awful journey to some. In my perambulations I have met with many such cases; and I was once almost horrified at the expression of a poor fellow who had been long buffeting with the storms of adversity, "the horrors of hell have begun with me." He is now in Australia.

When I ruminate on the various classes of distress which pervade this metropolis, I have always a great desire to expatriate them to new homes, to new pursuits, where want shall be exchanged for abundance, and misery for bliss—a liberal system of Government emigration will do all this—take the poor needlewomen for instance, their destitution is most awful, after all their indefatigable industry of "Stitch, stitch, stitch," as Hood humourously describes it, and causes one of them to exclaim,—

"Oh, God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap."

One cargo of needlewomen at least I would consign, say three thousand, under that due care and observance of all modest conventionalities,

* Times, Jan. 26th.

through which none could be offended ; there is plenty of room for them in Australia in new pursuits of life, of which matrimony would be the leading one ; this supply of wives would be nothing compared to the demand ; they are all sure to be married, excepting those beyond the "*certain age*," and *they* may become school-mistresses, and matrons of pauper children ; no one need be idle in this boundless field of enterprise.

Was I to take another class of a higher grade in that nondescript position in society so difficult to describe with minds highly wrought by education and refinement, with sensibilities so acute that they shrink as it were from the stern realities of life, and from that distress which iron circumstances impose upon them, the "needy governesses" are a numerous class, and perhaps more helpless than the poor needlewomen, since *they* cannot make shirts for threepence a-piece ; their stock-in-trade (if I may use a mercantile term) is mental ; the great globe itself and all that it contains is at their bidding, but what avails it if there be no demand for imparting it to others ? They know all the latitudes and longitudes of the British Colonies, although they still remain to them as a "*terra incognita*" for any practical beneficial purposes, which I wish them to realise. A governesses' ship should be commissioned under the especial patronage of our great philanthropist of the day, Lord Ashley, whose kindly feelings would lead him to hand all the ladies on board, but of which we will excuse his lordship if he will only charter the ship, which should be fitted-up with all the refinements due to their mental superiority and delicacy of mind, and well furnished with books ; they would do knitting enough on board to pay half the expenses. These ladies are sure to get what is commonly called settled in the colonies, and all except the very *passé* will glide into the noose of matrimony. I'll guarantee this to the number of a thousand at least, and they will prove the "*avant*" consignment of that refinement and civilisation to which the colonies are rapidly progressing.

I have visited distress in almost all its phases, from the bagnio at Constantinople, to the maniacs' asylum in St. George's Fields. Newgate, the criminals' bastille in London, and the Ostrog, the criminals' palace at Moscow (for so it literally is) are familiar to me ; the latter almost inviting to crime, which experience tells me is better off in this country (setting aside its moral turpitude) than destitution : ought such things to be ? The knout, the bastinado, and the guillotine, have shown me the extreme penalties to which crime is subject, and I have visited

numerous institutions for its reform, penal and inviting, and much destitution have I seen, but none so appalling as in this country.*

* I once formed the quixotic idea of grappling with it in the streets, but the first experiment quite damped my ardour and drove me from the pursuit ; I am not much of a story-teller, but it may not be irrelevant perhaps just now that the public attention has been so much called to street imposition. It was at Pentonville, about nine o'clock of the summer evening, that I saw a crowd assembled around a woman lying on the pavement in a most helpless state ; on inquiring the cause no one could explain it, since she would give no answer, nor did she reply to my questions as to the why of her being there. So I addressed her in French, at which she revived, and told me that she had lately arrived in England from France, that she had been to the embassy for relief, in which she was disappointed, and was now on her way to the city to visit the Catholic priest, who would certainly relieve her, but was quite exhausted : here she dropped down and could not move. I called a policeman, to whom I related the story, saying, that it was impossible to leave her on the pavement, and that if he would take her in charge, I would go and get some asylum for the night ; it was a pitiable case, since she could neither walk nor speak to him. I communicated to her my intentions, so we got her up on the policeman's back, he dragging his living cargo along the streets, whilst I headed the procession, amidst the shouts of the bystanders, who had accumulated during these proceedings. We landed her at a " public," and I left her well provisioned, whilst I proceeded with the policeman to procure her a lodging ; it had now become dusk, and we traversed the obscure streets to procure some place suited to our protégé, and knocking from door to door, " any lodging for a single woman," we became suspicious characters ourselves, and were threatened with sundry washings from the chamber windows. What was to be done ? Nor were we daunted, but persevered, until at a small shop still open for a crumb of custom, we succeeded in finding a very neat room, with a respectable hostess, and I agreed with her for all necessary supplies. We returned to the " public," from whence the policeman dragged the living cargo on his back to her comfortable lodging, where I saw her duly deposited and provided for. I had much conversation with my protégé ; she was intelligent, and (as I thought) without guile. I gleaned from her her history, the cause of her present destitution, which she said would be relieved by the Catholic priest when she was able to reach him. Fearing she would be unable to walk thus far, I offered to do so on the following morning, and taking his address, I promised to return early and report my success. But after a long city traverse no priest could I find, and when I came back to visit my charge, lo and behold the bird had flown ! I met the policeman whom I had left in attendance, who related to me that the shopkeeper had that morning missed a piece of lace worth £6, and that no one had been in the house but the strange lodger, *who must have taken it* ; they conferred together, little suspecting that the French woman understood them ; the policeman threatened to search her, and having as well as he could communicated his meaning, (in a moment as he described to me), the lame woman jumped over the counter, throwing down the piece of lace

History tells me that the feudal ages were more propitious to the comforts and well-being of the lower orders than the present state of society ; and strange as it may appear, (but no less strange than true,) that the residents in our aristocratic quarters know no more of the residents in some of our " faubourgs," than they do of the aborigines of New Holland, perhaps not so much. I mean as to their habits of life, their comforts (if they have any), their struggles for existence.

I have often desired the return of feudalism under certain restrictions ; bonds without terror, power without slavery. I am far from amalgamating classes ; on the contrary, a marked demarcation in grades is essential to the healthy conservation of the whole ; let modern feudalism consist in an individual care as it were from class to class. I don't mean the providing for and bringing them up, but that a family in high life should take cognisance of a family in low life, and see to their well-doing by a personal supervision ; and why not occasional visits from Belgrave-square to Whitechapel, where in the under currents of misery may be learnt more useful lessons than science or philosophy can teach, of patient suffering, cheerful resignation, and religious hope ? The luxury of doing good when once tasted would become contagious, it more than repays the costs ; let modern feudalism become the fashion of the season, and if thus exercised, it will cement society beyond all other emollients.

I will merely add, let benevolence form the leading feature of our parliamentary discussions, and how to relieve the distresses of the lower orders be the anxious care of our senators. Power may struggle, ambition vaunt, but it is a mission from heaven to relieve the distressed ; you will thereby disarm chartism, strengthen loyalty, and weave an imperishable diadem for England's sovereign, and long may Her Majesty reign ! An awful responsibility rests upon the powers " ordained of God," if they are unfaithful to their trust. It can be but a little while ere all human distinctions of governors and governed shall merge in one common receptacle, " where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest." Let not political partisanship nor free trade furor, so much

and running away like a lamp-lighter, (to borrow his term,) addressing them in English with all the fluency of her native tongue. The policeman followed, shouting " Stop thief," but she outran every one, and I was not more amused than glad so easily to get rid of my charge. I have never since been vulnerable to female distress.

“ sound and fury, signifying nothing,” exclusively occupy the parliamentary minds, but may the struggle be who can do the most to alleviate the sufferings of their fellow creatures. Benevolence may be deemed the connecting sympathy between heaven and earth ; angels record it, and God rewards it.

FINIS.

Reader, by purchasing two copies of this little pamphlet, you thereby furnish the Book of Life to the poor emigrant in the wilderness.

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